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and hunting grounds, or personal and social disagreements, so that the building of a house is looked upon as a chore which must be repeated several times during one's career. A man, if one may judge by the histories of the old men whom I knew, may build from three to a dozen houses during his lifetime.

Before discussing the permanent residences which are located in settlements or villages, it may be well to mention the types of temporary shelter in the building of which the Carib woodsmen are so adept. As stated in our discussion of hunting, a man is sometimes away from home for several days, engaged in the chase. In other cases long trips overland or by river to neighboring settlements or trading posts necessitate the passing of nights in the jungle. Just as every man is a competent woodsman, knowing the practical uses to which any of the jungle plants can be put and the peculiarities of the animals which furnish so large a part of his food supply, so he is also well acquainted, by the time he reaches man's status, with many ingenious methods of making himself comfortable in any conditions which he may have to face. Other aspects of woodsmanship will be described in our chapter on transportation and woodcraft. But at this point we may say that a man traveling in the jungle always carries at least two accessories, his cutlass and his hammock. With these he can make himself reasonably comfortable for a night almost anywhere. The cutlass is carried in the hand, and the hammock is rolled into a small ball which is suspended down the back by a piece of bush rope around the neck, or is packed into a corner of the walisha (carrying basket).

If the night gives promise of being clear, or if the traveler is in a great hurry, the only arrangements made for sleeping are the cutting of two poles with sharpened ends, which are forced into the ground at a distance of perhaps six feet from each other. To these poles the hammock ropes are attached. The poles themselves lean at obtuse angles away from each other, the better to withstand the strain of the hammock. This method of passing the night is designated in pidgin English as "sleep in bush corner."

Rain, however, is the constant visitant of all travelers in the bush, and it is exceedingly difficult to say with certainty that a sky which at evening is studded with stars will not be pouring water long before morning. Consequently, whenever practical, some provision is made for shelter from rain. The simplest form of

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rain shelter is made merely by laying two poles against the trunk of a tree and spreading the leaves of the wild plantain or of dalli-banna[1] over them. Under the small shelter thus made a man may crouch protected from the rain, but will be unable to sling his hammock. Another type of temporary rain shelter is made from the plaited leaf of the manicol palm, as figured in Roth.[2]

More commodious temporary shelters, called banabs by the creoles and wawnitopo (sleeping thing) by the Caribs, take several forms. All of them consist of a framework of upright poles and horizontal crosspieces, and a thatch or roofing of some kind of broad leaves. The framework serves the double purpose of supporting the hammock of the occupant and supporting the roof over his head. The framework is tied together with bush rope.[3]

Figure 3 shows different types of temporary shelter. The triangular flat-roofed type (Type A) of wawnitopo consists of three uprights, any or all of which may, if convenient, be the trunks of standing trees or saplings. At a height of about four to five feet from the ground, the uprights are connected by three horizontal tie-pieces, slender poles cut from young saplings. Across the triangle thus formed several horizontal tie-beams are laid parallel to its base. Upon these beams are laid the broad fresh leaves which have been gathered for the thatch, and from the uprights the hammock is slung. Usually the sleeper's feet are directed toward the apex of the triangle which forms the roof, and his head toward the base.

A triangular shelter with a gable roof I have called Type B. The gable end is built up by a series of cross pieces laid parallel to each other upon the ends of the longitudinal stringers which support the thatch of the roof.

Rectangular shelters with gable ends are of two types. In the first type the gables are built in the same way as that described for the triangular gable-ended shelter. In the second type (Type C) the ridge pole is supported at either end in the forked top of an upright pole. The four corner uprights are supported by braces (see illustration), while at their tops they are bound together by horizontal poles which form four sides of a rectangular

[1] *Geonoma baculifera.*
[2] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, Plate 55.
[3] Bush rope is the creole term for any unprepared vegetable material which may be used as twine or rope. A variety of vines of several sizes abounds in the bush, as well as the barks of several trees which may be stripped into straps. Bush rope is therefore always available in the jungle, although represented by a number of botanical species and genera.

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484 342 rafters are in some cases further strengthened by longitudinal stringers on the under side.

342 335 Let us now turn to an examination of the permanent dwellings of the Caribs. The standard type of dwelling throughout the area from the head to the mouth of the river is a gabled-roofed thatched house without walls. Two varieties of this type occur, having four and six upright supports respectively. These I have termed the four (apototo) and six-pillar (miemboto) types.[1] The house, or owto, is built as follows. After a level site for the dwelling has been selected with due regard for privacy and convenience, the position of the pillars (wakapu) is determined by measuring out the ground plan with a pole on which the proper dimensions or fractions have been marked. The size of the house depends upon the number of persons living in it, the wealth of the owner, the amount of assistance he will have in building it, and the availability of materials in suitable quantities. For instance, in a region where roofing materials must be carried long distances, smaller houses will be built than where they are readily at hand. The holes to receive the pillars are started with a hoe and enlarged with a digging stick. When the hole has reached a depth of about six inches, the pillar, the inferior end of which has been sharpened to a point with the cutlass or axe, is introduced and "tomped" into place by repeatedly lifting it with the two hands and forcing it into the ground until it rests solidly with about a foot of its length below the surface of the ground. The earth is then filled around the pillar in the upper part of the hole and well stamped into place. Due care is taken that the upper ends of the pillars shall be of approximately equal height above the surface of the ground. The height of the pillars varies with the house, but averages between seven and eight feet. When a pillar is prepared, the bark is first removed from a log of wood of suitable length, the inferior end is sharpened as already mentioned, and the top flanged or whittled into a broad fork to receive the stringer or tie-beam (Plate 13, *b*). When the pillars are in place, the runners (apopono), one of which connects the tops of the pillars along each side of the house, are put in position. Usually they are not tied to the pillars but rely upon the flanges in the pillar tops and the weight from above to keep them in position. Next the tie-beams (tchurapa), which

[1] At Pisi and Turingbang settlements I found the houses of the settlements to be exclusively temporary shelters of the C type. The inhabitants said that the settlements had not been established sufficiently long to allow for the erection of permanent dwellings.

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481 tion of the line of march, and it is not infrequent for a trail to be carried for several hundred yards from one fallen log to another (Plate 26, *a*). Shallow streams are usually waded, but deeper streams and the river are more often crossed on logs which have fallen across the water.

482 Loads are generally carried in the walishas, or carrying baskets, which have been described in our chapter on basketry. The hammock and a few cakes of cassava bread are tucked into a corner of the walisha, and armed with his cutlass and bow or gun a man is ready for a journey of almost any length with a good load on his back. A party must of course always travel single file, and the eyes must be kept on the ground, in order to watch the footing and to beware of snakes and dangerous insects. If a snake is met on the trail, and this is a frequent occurrence since the reptiles apparently enjoy sunning themselves in the spots of sunlight, which are more often found on the trail, one cuts a long stick, and with it throws the snake into the bush without killing it. It is considered dangerous to slash the snake's head off with the cutlass, because, it is said, the severed head frequently flies off and fastens its jaws into an arm or a leg with unhappy results.

484 [825] [562] A man going on a long journey usually prefers to take his wife and children with him. In such a case each one of the travelers, except children in arms, carries a load. I, however, saw no cases of the celebrated Indian custom which decrees that the wife shall carry all the load while the husband stalks majestically, unhampered, in the van.

[825] The Indians are admirable trackers, both of animals and humans. On many occasions I have verified the uncanny ability of the natives to ascertain from footprints, which to me were hardly visible, the species of animal which had passed by, and often the individual human beings. The Indians make a close study of people's feet, and can often tell by examining the foot prints who has passed over a trail.

501 824 **Water Transport.** Two types of craft are used in water transport, the korial and the woodskin. The korial (Carib, koriara) is a dugout canoe, the hull of which is made from a single log of wood. Konta wood (known to creoles also as counter and silverbelly) and sorodani are considered the best materials for making a korial, as they do not sink and are not so soft that they are easily

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work, and, by dint of long experience, every man in a canoe party knows his place in an emergency without having to be told.

When not in use, the korial is tied to a post or tree on the bank and kept parallel to the shore by stakes which are driven into the water against its outer side. The woodskin is usually submerged in the water when not in use, so that the bark will not dry up and curl.

The skill of the Carib paddlers is shown in the sport of hunting the labba (*Coelegenys* sp.). This animal comes down to the river to drink and graze at night. On several dark nights Carib men have taken me on labba hunting expeditions, the sport being enhanced for them by my possession of an electric torch light which could be flashed in the eyes of the startled beasts. In pitch darkness, and in spite of the many logs and obstructions in the river, the canoe would be noiselessly manoeuvered along the bank without prematurely frightening the labba, which could be located by the noise of its nibbling and moving about.

When traveling on the river, a stop is usually made for the night about an hour before sundown. Time is allowed for the building of a temporary shelter on the bank or a sandbar, and for a bit of hunting and the placing of set-lines before darkness settles down.

RECREATION

Amusements, Stimulants and Narcotics, Art

As a rule the Barama Caribs are a jolly folk who in the course of their everyday lives manage to have more simple enjoyment than the average member of a more civilized society. They are continually laughing and joking among themselves even when engaged in rather arduous tasks; they enjoy entertaining their friends and being entertained, and all possible opportunities for a "good time" are seized.

Small girls play with dolls (myakonbokupo) made from patumo wood and dressed with bits of cotton or cloth. Boys play with toy bows and arrows, practising for accuracy and distance, and also play with tops (kuma'epipyo) made of a pencil-like piece of wood thrust through an akuru seed and wound with kraua string. Usually the tops are spun on the ground, occasionally in cotton

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621 162 **External Contacts of the Settlement.** The Sawari settlement, with a population of twenty-six adults and twenty-one children, includes three residential clearings and several associated agricultural fields or gardens. As can be seen from Figure 9, a nearly straight line running from northeast to southwest can be drawn through the three clearings where the people live. The clearing occupied by John Miller, the headman of the whole settlement, lies farthest to the southwest. About a half-mile northeastward, separated by intervening jungle, is the house clearing of Edwin. And perhaps three-quarters of a mile northeastward of Edwin's house lies the clearing for the houses of John Cook, Henry Daniel, John and Daniel. This arrangement of the several divisions of the community is reflected in the social positions of the members affected thereby.

103 As is the case with all Carib settlements on the Barama, Sawari takes its name from the creek where the people get their water supply. The Sawari Creek, so named from the numerous sawari-nut trees (*Caryocar Pekea tuberculosa*) which grow along its banks, flows south of Miller's clearing, passes east of Edwin's clearing, and empties into the Barama at a point almost directly north of the latter.

361 Outside contact at the time of my appearance at Sawari was maintained with the settlements of Haiari and Kwamata across the river, and with Kurewa, which lies about midway between [487] Sawari and Towakaima itself. (See Figure 1.) An old trail running southwestward to the higher settlements of the upper Barama had not been used for several years, and the Sawari Caribs were completely out of touch with those farther up the river.

484 This section of the country is unmapped, and reliable estimates of linear distances are impossible without instruments because of the meandering courses which both the jungle trails and the streams pursue. Consequently, distances are usually spoken of by the Indians in terms of the length of time required for a reasonably swift man to cover them. On this basis Haiari is three hours [361] distant, but men travelling with loads usually take at least five hours or half a day. Kwamata is about six hours. Kurewa is about twelve hours, a long day away.

177 361 The source of such European influence as exists in this region is Towakaima. On the left bank of the river, at a distance of about

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765 Crime and Punishment, to prevent the kanaimas from drinking the fluids of decay from the corpse.

775 The Caribs have very vague ideas as to the eventual fate of the ghost. They believe, however, that for some time after it haunts the place of its death. Ghosts here, as among ourselves, are believed to be invisible under ordinary circumstances, although there are occasional individuals who, when passing near a house of death, claim to have seen the form of the dead person working about the house as in life. It is because of the fact that the ghost continues to inhabit the house which it used during life that the survivors desert the house and clearing. The general attitude assumes that mortals have sufficient troubles in this life without being annoyed by the attentions of ghosts, which, it is said, often become irritated at the necessity of sharing a dwelling with the living. Especially if a living person unwittingly does something to displease a ghost, the latter will persecute him, even pursuing him to his new dwelling. Living persons often complain that ghosts are tickling them, pinching them, or causing other uncomfortable sensations. These persecutions most often occur at night, and to an outsider it appears that many an ant or flea bite has been mistaken by a superstitious Carib for a ghostly pinching. Of course, it is believed that ghosts are always invisible when making mortals uncomfortable.

775 Although a ghost will become irritated with a living person if
484 the latter stays in his house, it is permissible for a weary traveller to pass the night in a deserted dwelling in case of necessity, provided the intruder speaks to the ghost and explains why he is trespassing. The intruder repeats the following phrase. "Amaronye yedome wawnekusewa." While a human being may thus speak to a ghost, the latter never answers. Several informants spoke of having spent the night in deserted houses and being kept awake by the ghostly footsteps of the deceased owner, who insisted on moving about all night long. It is also dangerous to speak of a dead person, his appearance, personality, or former activities, for fear of arousing the displeasure of the ghost. Likewise, interference of any kind with the house or clearing in which it lives arouses the ire of a ghost.

775 Naturally, no mortal wishes to have any more dealings with ghosts than are necessary. It is said that sometimes thorns are

*177 centralized to make use of the government programs and services
361 available at the Air Strip as well as maintain an advantageous subsistence relationship to the rain forest. From the preliminary data available on the resettlement around Baramita Air Strip, a dual pattern of residence is evident only in respect to those people who have moved in from the more remote settlements. To some extent, this pattern reflects the several months required to develop a productive farm in a new location while relying on an established farm. As yet, permanent residents of the Air Strip and the two satellite settlements of Aranka and Baramita have not cut fields in the more remote areas. The further development of a pattern of dual residence will depend on persistence in the extent and nature of regional networks of exchange at Baramita Air Strip.

361 At the present time, the aggregation of people at the Air Strip plus those in the satellite settlements have put a burden on the
[224] local resources in the immediate area. With regard to hunting and
[222] gathering, greater effort is given for meager results around the Air
• [484] Strip so that longer trips must be made. Also, the higher, dry land
361 suitable for an air strip does not provide a reliable water source
312 during the dry seasons. People must dig in the dry stream beds and at times have temporarily moved and camped out on the banks of the
361 Barama River until rain came again. House structures continue to be
342 located inside cultivated fields, and large tracts of land have been opened up around the air strip.

241 A survey completed in late spring 1971 revealed that 140 acres of
311 bush had been cut for farms around the air strip. To avoid disputes,
*177

*177 439 Throughout the time period under consideration, commercial trade goods have been incorporated, mostly by way of substitution for their [412] local equivalent. Axeheads, cutlasses, knives, iron griddle pans, [415] cotton cloth, and shotguns reached the population in varying degrees [175] at the time of Gillin's study (1934:332). These trade goods did not lose their popularity. They have been added to by other external resources and their quantity and availability have been increased. [163] Eventually, a flow of external goods and services into the Upper [161] Barama River area has resulted in an increased birth rate and an [511] increasing population size, an improved standard of living, and [621] changes in the social organization of the population.

*177 175 443 However, markets have been introduced and controlled by external agents. As has already been explained, the Upper Barama River Caribs [484] do not have easy access to regional markets. They do not travel to transact regional exchanges. Rather, they have depended on the opportunities provided by non-Carib middlemen who reside in the Upper Barama River area and who have good access to the limited transportation and communication facilities. As characteristic of the conveyance of regional exchanges into remote areas, market opportunities have been highly personalized. This was characteristic of the early period of porknocking activities and the existence of the gold [657] companies. Personalized market networks continue to be associated with government programs and services at Baramita Air Strip.

*177 195 437 439 Market Opportunities Provided by the Early Gold Seekers

The earliest regional exchanges reported for these Caribs involved

*177 175 466 [484] Baird further sought to secure Carib clients with special benefits. He tended to the emergencies of his workers and their families day and night. From time to time, Baird made trips to Georgetown possible by allowing workers to ride one way free on the charter flights which [891] left the air pool and later the air strip empty. In 1966, he started the first school. It was built at In Time and staffed by a teacher Baird privately paid.

*177 175 443 43 [434] Baird's trade store was operated primarily as a service for the workers. Local provisions were bought and sold at the same price. This policy was used also with many foods flown in from Georgetown. The thirty-two or more workers who earned about $4 a day had an income of approximately $1200 a year. As these workers had only small gardens [241] [461] and their wives and other members of their households enjoyed a great deal of leisure, most provisions were purchased. Cassava bread, the staple, sold for 16¢ a disk which is about a half inch thick and two feet in diameter. Local fish and meat sold for about 40¢ a pound. Rice, sugar, salt fish, canned milk, tinned sardines, and other foods were available. The store stocked a variety of implements for hunting, fishing, farming, and doing household chores. It also stocked cigarettes, matches, soap, cloth lengths, and manufactured clothes. Baird [452] extended each worker up to $100 credit and arranged special purchases. These included guns[2] and radios. One Carib man bought a portable, [454] manually operated Singer sewing machine in this manner. As there was no opportunity for investment, a worker would hide away somewhere about his house any cash he did not immediately use to make purchases.

*177 175 361 438 [484] or 37.7 percent of the total population frequently sold provisions at the trade store. This segment of the population also participated in the ancillary regional exchange networks provided by the missionaries and the Amerindian Captain. The remaining 28.4 percent of the population, the 143 individuals in the more remote settlements, made more infrequent trips to the trade store at In Time. Either through informal trade among Caribs themselves or the centralized channels created by the trade store, mining activities involved the entire local population in a common network of regional exchanges. In turn, this network was changed by the abandonment of In Time.

Regional Exchanges Centralized at Baramita Air Strip

*177 175 464 511 The cessation of mining activities late in 1969 again altered the subsistence patterns of the local Carib population. That segment of the population dependent on employment at the mine and maintaining no farms was faced with a subsistence crisis. The opportunities for the remainder of the population to sell provisions was greatly reduced.

*177 175 464 657 During the spring and summer of 1970, the Government began introducing programs and services to sustain this population. The new governmental offices have already been detailed (see Figure 3). The resources conveyed to the population through these new channels remain to be discussed. As data are available only for the first year of these new programs at Baramita Air Strip, this must remain a preliminary report.

*177 182 [463] The first year at the Air Strip was one of general parsimony. Job specialization among the Caribs was almost eliminated and everyone returned to rain forest subsistence.

*177 592 621 not mature enough to have children. Two other clearings are inhabited by households of this type that have moved in from the more remote settlements. In both cases, the families of a man and his son-in-law have moved as a unit to the Air Strip.

The third category is still more complex. In these cases, larger numbers of people are present which contributes to the ambiguity of [166] household divisions. Four of these larger groups of relatives in a common clearing are clearly the result of the abandonment of the mine and the occurrence of new resources at the Air Strip. Kinsmen are temporarily allied for the move to the Air Strip from the mine as [596] well as from the more remote areas. These kinship groups are laterally extended. In two cases they are composed of the nuclear families of brothers as well as their sons and sons-in-law. In two other cases, the sons and sons-in-law of a single man and all their [484] wives and children are residing together. Among these groups, component units of a man and his wife and children often left on extended trips either to a more remote settlement or to Matthew's Ridge. Usually, this was because agricultural fields around the air strip were not yet productive.

*177 592 624 621 The two remaining examples in the third category are the clearings of the current Captain and the prominent Councillor. The Councillor is about fifty and has three wives of different ages. His household includes an adult son-in-law and son and his wives and [609] children. In addition, an old porknocker long resident among the Upper Barama River Caribs lives in the Councillor's clearing. ∞ Holding office has served to extend the household of the current